DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 339 913 CE 059 879

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TITLE The Saturation Project and NAPSAE's Changing Strategies for Adult Education, 1952-1962.
SPONS AGENCY Syracuse Univ., NY. Kellogg Project.
PUB DATE Dec 91
NOTE 37p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Association for Adult and Continuing Education (Montreal, Quebec, Canada, October 14-20, 1991).
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Historical Materials (060)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Adult Basic Education; Adult Programs; Educational Administration; *Organizational Development; *Organizational Objectives; *Professional Associations; Professional Development; *Program Development; Program Proposals; Public Education; *Public School Adult Education; School Districts; State Departments of Education; State Programs; *State School District Relationship
IDENTIFIERS *National Association for Public School Adult Educ

ABSTRACT

The Saturation Project was an innovative 3-year grant program that was planned by the National Association for Public School Adult Educators (NAPSAE) but never actually implemented. The grant was intended to be given to the McAlester, Oklahoma, school district in 1961 in order to demonstrate the contribution of adult education to the overall well-being of a community. It was envisioned that the project would make the community high school the fulcrum for all adult education in the community and increase the visibility and status of the state adult education director. However, it was decided that rather than risking the failure of one large project, it was better to spread funds over a number of communities for a 1-year period. This decision reflected a reluctance to examine a core issue: whether to advance the cause of public school adult education through grassroots politics or through cooperation with public school hierarchies. An examination of NAPSAE's changing strategies offers a way to interpret the organizational ecology of adult education during the period 1952-1962, a time when community colleges, colleges, and universities were expanding their public service missions. (31 references) (KC)

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THE SATURATION PROJECT AND NAPSAE'S CHANGING STRATEGIES FOR ADULT EDUCATION, 1952 - 1962

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This paper was presented at the Annual Conference of the American Association for Adult and Continuing Education, October 14-20, 1991, Montreal, Quebec, Canada

Partial support for this research was provided by the Syracuse University Kellogg Project in Adult Education

CE 057879

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December 1991

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Abstract

The Saturation Project was an innovative three year grant program that was planned by the National Association of Public School Adult Educators (NAPSAE) but never actually implemented. An analysis of the creation of the Saturation Project and the eventual decision to abandon it in its original format is presented as a way of studying NAPSAE, its evolution, and its various strategies to promote, popularize, and generate increased support for adult education. An examination of NAPSAE's changing strategies also offers a way to interpret the organizational ecology of adult education during the period 1952-1962- a time when community colleges, colleges, and universities were expanding their public service missions.

THE SATURATION PROJECT AND NAPSAE'S CHANGING STRATEGIES FOR ADULT EDUCATION, 1952 - 1962

Introduction and Background

The Saturation Project was intended to be a grant of $20,000 (equivalent in 1990 purchasing power to approximately $90,000; see U.S. Department of Commerce, 1990) to a single school district in order to demonstrate the contribution of adult education to the overall well-being of a community. The grant was to be used over a three year period beginning in 1961.

Although financially modest by the yardstick of many educational grants, Saturation represented a departure from the previous grant making strategy of the National Association of Public School Adult Educators (NAPSAE) which had originally been to stimulate the creation of full-time positions of director of adult education within state departments of education. A parallel phase of this approach to establish state level full-time directors of adult education was for NAPSAE to also award grants to local school districts that would encourage the hiring of full-time directors of adult

education at the school district level. Both types of grants, which included provisions for training activities, had been awarded for one year periods only. Saturation was meant to stimulate a broad range of attention getting adult education activities in continuing liberal education within a targeted community. The funding emanated from the Fund for Adult Education (FAE), an independent corporation established by the Ford Foundation with a special interest in promoting continuing liberal education (see FAE 1962). The FAE had earlier provided funds for NAPSAE's grants to states and school districts.

The format of Saturation was undoubtedly influenced by the Test Cities Project of the FAE (1952-1961) which established Adult Education Councils in thirteen United States communities as part of an experiment to determine the best ways of promoting continuing liberal education in America. Test Cities grants were originally intended for a three year period (although some were extended) and were generally for a total of approximately $24,000 (see FAE [1956]).

Saturation differed from Test Cities in that it sought to make the community school district, with the high school as its fulcrum, the pivot point of a community's entire continuing education program. This concept envisioned a synergistic linkage of a town's adult education providers including the library and community college. The school district director of adult education, who was customarily based in the high school since that was the principal site of the district's adult education program, would coordinate, direct, and stimulate this enriched mixture of continuing education opportunities emanating from divergent sources.

NAPSAE anticipated a metamorphosis for both adult education and the adult education director through the intervention of the Saturation Project. If successful through this demonstration project, adult education could become a vitally important and visible community activity instead of a nocturnal pastime that occupied a distant third place position behind elementary and secondary education. Concomitantly, adult education directors would become highly visible and respected community leaders deploying significantly greater resources than they could from their customary part-

time position within the school bureaucracy. This heightened profile for adult education could also become a way of leveraging statewide political support if the success of Saturation in one community could be successfully replicated in others.

NAPSAE's Saturation Project is therefore significant in terms of the project's ambitious objectives for American adult education as transformatory of the community and the role of the practitioner/director to that of a skillful change agent. Yet, the grant was never awarded in its original form. Instead, a more modest series of one year grants in continuing liberal education were made by NAPSAE to sixteen different communities as part of IMPACT USA! By decreasing the amount of the grant from $20,000 to $4,000 but spreading it over a larger number of communities NAPSAE was hedging its bets that a single school district could find an optimal way of mainstreaming adult education within its community.

An understanding of Saturation and why it was abandoned by NAPSAE in favor of other strategies to promote adult education is also important in order to comprehend the

evolution of that association in its first decade (1952-1962). During that period NAPSAE took advantage of readily available funds from the FAE and expanded its identity from a membership organization principally oriented towards serving the needs of its constituency to also become a grant making organization concerned with larger issues of social change through adult education. Though these goals were incompatible, trying to address them concurrently produced strains for NAPSAE which were partially resolved by transmogrifying Saturation into IMPACT USA! so that its final form was more harmonious with other organizational goals- namely providing services and resources to as many members as possible.

Thus, to those interested in the evolution of organizations, the early history of NAPSAE and its experiments may provide insights into the strategies followed, or ignored, by today's adult education association leaders. The impact of grant monies on an association's activities is also another theme of ongoing fascination to scholars of adult education (see Rose, 1989).

NAPSAE and State Departments of Education

NAPSAE was organized in 1952 as a semi-autonomous affiliate of the newly formed Adult Education Association/USA (AEA/USA) in order to provide a base for adult educators located in public schools. (Dorland, 1975; Knowles, 1977; NAPSAE 1961) NAPSAE was also, simultaneously, a department of the National Education Association (NEA) where its offices were physically located. It received a subsidy from NEA to conduct its activities in the form of contributed services from the NEA Division of Adult Service including staff salaries, travel, and support services. Robert Luke, Executive Secretary of NAPSAE was also a staff member of the NEA Division, and divided his time between both organizations (Luke, personal communication, July 9, 1990).

The traditions NAPSAE inherited from the NEA placed the public schools at the heart of the community's and therefore the country's adult education enterprise.

A strategy in support of school based adult education

was given impetus in 1952 when the NEA Division of Adult Education Service, with support from the FAE, sponsored a major study of urban public school adult education programs (NEA Division, 1952). This research identified the lack of funding for adult education as one of the major obstacles to its growth. The study, which demonstrated that the scale of a state's adult education program was commensurate with its expenditures, became the cornerstone of NAPSAE's philosophy that the best places to lobby for increased support for adult education were state departments of education.

These education departments required the services of knowledgeable state directors of adult education, working in tandem with sympathetic and supportive state superintendents of education, who could be expected to fight on behalf of making adult education a legitimate academic activity that was more comparable to that of either elementary or secondary education. The directors would devote their full time and energies to developing and coordinating the growth of adult education programs in their states.

The State Projects Committee, an administrative unit of NAPSAE, was to help some states create this position of statewide adult education director through a series of FAE supported grants. The Committee occupied a key role in focusing and concentrating NAPSAE's efforts. Its "ultimate goal" was to create full-time directors of adult education in all forty-eight states (Mann, April 1, 1955, p.1); there were only thirteen directors in 1955.

The Committee was formed on September 2, 1954 (NAPSAE State Projects Committee, September 2, 1954). Its founding members included three state directors of adult education including, Mr. R.J. Pulling, Chief of the Bureau of Adult Education, NY, (who was to become President of NAPSAE in 1955), and Robert Luke, Executive Secretary of NAPSAE, who also served as Secretary for the Committee.

The Committee set as its goal choosing a "test state" for its first grant in 1954-1955 to establish the position of state director of adult education. It identified "conditions of readiness" that would help it select a state where that investment of resources was

likely to result in the permanent creation of that position by the state after the grant had expired.

Factors that were to be taken into account included the present level of local adult education programs, the attitude of the state legislature, the commitment of the state superintendent to adult education, potential national strategic impact selecting that state would have, the level of working relationship between the state department of education and other state institutions (including universities), the stability of educational leadership in the state, and the availability and strength of organized state adult education organizations. This information was gathered through on-site visits made to prospective grantees.

The Committee, in this first year of its operation, decided, with FAE backing, to begin by expending $7500 on one state rather than dividing resources among a number of recipients thus establishing a precedent for Saturation's selection of a single state. The Committee would also allocate funds for training purposes and for other related purposes within the project state

including consulting support and helping to establish linkages with other professionals and organizations.

Plans were laid for a future three day meeting of all state adult education directors using the services of the National Training Laboratory in Group Development, another component of the Division of Adult Education Service of the NEA (Luke, December 15, 1955).

Colorado received the first grant in January 1955 Minnesota and Oklahoma soon followed (Mann, March 11, 1956). In December 1955 it was announced that the project would be expanded to three additional states, for a total of six (Luke, December 15, 1955).

The first NAPSAE conference of the three state project directors from Colorado, Oklahoma, and Minnesota was held in Denver CO, June 28-29, 1956. A report, "The Professional Responsibilities of Public School Adult Educators" was developed as an outcome of these sessions. The report stressed that the "ultimate success" of adult education was the responsibility of the state director of adult education who was to conduct planning, implement quality control, and

network with other educators, legislators, and community representatives. (NAPSAE State Projects Committee, June 28-29, 1956, p.7).

The director was also to interpret and make the case for school based adult education, especially liberal adult education, a major interest of the FAE.

What was this concept of liberal adult education that had become an important element in the project? Various attempts were made by the State Projects Committee to define and distinguish liberal adult education from professional and technical training, vocational education, arts and crafts, and recreational adult education. In the June 1956 Conference Report it was interpreted as "help[ing] adults grow in wisdom and understanding and to gain the necessary skills for the fulfillment of a useful and rewarding life," assisting them to participate "effectively and wisely" as citizens, parents and homemakers. (NAPSAE State Projects Committee, June 28-29 1956, p.4) The Report acknowledged that these were the "hard to do" aspects of adult education (emphasis in original) and should therefore receive the highest priority in state

departments of education.

Liberal adult education was at variance with the history of public school adult education which was much more prosaic and down to earth having stressed immigrant education, vocational training, and remedial education. (See Clark, 1980). Although it might appear that the citizenship awareness aspects of liberal adult education made it a direct descendant of immigrant education, a comparison of the "great books," a frequent element in liberal adult education, with immigrant survival skills shows how little there was actually in common (see Adler, 1977).

Liberal adult education was clearly more at home in the university's traditional liberal arts curriculum or in the middle class discussion groups favored by the Adult Educational Councils established by the FAE in the Test Cities Project. The FAE's support of the university based Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults (CSLEA) was to have a great impact upon popularizing non-credit liberal arts education among a predominantly college educated audience.

In retrospect, it is difficult to see how liberal adult education could have galvanized for NAPSAE the type of political support it needed to assure the creation of state director of adult education positions in states where they had not existed prior to the NAPSAE grants. Yet, the FAE funding to NAPSAE, ultimately reaching a total of almost $700,000, was to exert a powerful impact on the State Projects Committee, contributing to overall changes in strategy that more fully embraced this notion of liberal studies. Liberal education was the major agenda item of the FAE which was given $47 million over a ten year period from the Ford Foundation to support experiments by NAPSAE as well as by other organizations (see FAE 1962).

In April 1958, at the end of one year's experience with the project of establishing state directors of adult education 100% success was reported in the three test states which had committed support to continue the positions beyond the initial grant. The Committee was so confident in its approach to leveraging public school adult education through its top-down strategy that Robert Luke wrote in a letter to Mrs. Lois M. Belcher, Director, The Commission on Special Projects,

State Teachers College, Mayville, ND., denying a grant application because

> ...the position of our Association is such that we can only be interested in the development of an adult education program under the auspices of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. As you know, the states are somewhat uneven in the development of adult education as an essential responsibility of public education, but we are gradually moving toward the acceptance of adult education being on a peer relationship with elementary and secondary education in most of the state school systems. One of the major purposes of our grants is to firmly establish this concept in an increasing number of states.
>
> .....
>
> I am sure that in the long-run the policy of continuing to wait for an enthusiastic invitation from the State Superintendent for projects in the field of public school adult education will pay the best dividends. (Luke,

December 31, 1958, emphasis added)

Frustrations with Gradualism and a Shifting Focus

This heady feeling of accomplishment was to be shortly tempered by disappointment, as backsliding began to take place in a number of the project states. In a document from 1959 (NAPSAE State Projects Committee, July 4-5, 1959) an uneven success unfolded.

In both Oklahoma and Georgia the directors of adult education were reported to be spending a good deal of their time on other duties. And, in Colorado the position of state director was permitted to lapse and the responsibilities transferred to the Director of the Division of Education Beyond the High School. Although a NAPSAE grant had been approved for Ohio in 1958, the state superintendent of education still had not moved by mid-1959 to appoint a director. In Kansas, a comprehensive state survey of adult education was to be conducted prior to appointing a director. Only in Minnesota had the position been supported by the state following the expiration of grant support, although it was anticipated that they would be continued in Iowa

and Utah. (NAPSAE State Projects Committee, July 4-5, 1959)

Motivating state departments of education to permanently establish full-time directors of adult education would require more than the pixie dust of grants. Enlightened state education departments required enlightened state legislatures. (R.A. Luke, personal communication, July 9, 1990). A new strategy was required by NAPSAE rooted in the yet untapped potential of social awareness and grass-roots politics that could be turned to the advantage of public school adult education. NAPSAE was beginning to embrace local adult education as a way of focusing community attention on the solution of societal problems.

The proposed theme for the third NAPSAE'S national director's institute was "How can the public school help citizens to identify, study, understand, and within the context of education, help to solve the problems of society?" Disenchantment with the slowness of change at the state level helped to propel this metamorphosis. Successful visible local demonstration projects might convince state legislators to back adult

education more wholeheartedly. (R.A. Luke, personal communication, July 9, 1990)

Another factor that contributed to the State Projects Committee's desire for a more palpably successful strategy was the expansion of interest on the part of community colleges in adult education and the growth of general extension at the university level. As early as 1952 the NEA, in its study of urban public adult education, had flagged the significant role and interest of the junior/community college and suggested that they might emerge as the community's "educational and cultural center, serving as the coordinator of all continuing education activities of and for local residents" (NEA Division of Adult Education Service, 1952, p.159). During the period 1950-1970 these institutions were to enjoy vast expansion and in the process replaced public schools as the site of many adult and vocational education programs. (Deegan et al., 1985).

University extension as a national concept was over fifty years old and was vigorously promoted through the activities of the National University Extension

Association (NUEA) and the Association of University Evening Colleges (AUEC). The W.K. Kellogg Foundation had begun to make substantial grants to universities for the purpose of creating Kellogg Centers- large, conference/residential facilities that were to become veritable oases of collegiate continuing education for many years. During the 1950s funding for nine of these was provided (Rohfeld, 1990). More and more the need for a breakthrough in public school adult education became highly attractive.

The Appeal of Saturation

The Saturation Grant was first mentioned in the Committee on State Projects Report to the NAPSAE Board, February 10-12, 1961. The Committee recommended "a concentrated effort" in one community covering a three year period with a grant up to a maximum of $20,000. This could be used to help pay the director's salary, full or in part, for conferences and workshops, and the use of consultants. In short, it would dispense "all the necessary tools to do a good job- as an example of what can be done." The project director was to involve educational resources beyond the public school

including the library and community college (see also Luke, 1961).

Following the completion of Saturation, research would identify factors that contributed to the project's success. If at all possible, the grant was to be targeted to an "under-privileged" community (Mueller, March 23, 1961, p.1). In addition to the Saturation Project, the Committee would select approximately twenty-one other communities for one year grants. All grants to the states, including Saturation, were to be made upon the recommendation of the state superintendent of education in an attempt to once again involve these officials more closely with adult education since the mediocre results of the state directors project were viewed as outcomes of the indifference of state education commissioners. All grants were to incorporate aspects of liberal adult education, the leitmotif of the FAE.

Saturation fused together a number of elements then omnipresent in American society. In 1960, the year of the first sit-ins, segregation and social injustice were dramatized to nationwide audiences, hastening the

demise of the former and a greater commitment to the latter. The grant's intended orientation towards underprivileged communities was a deliberate reference to minorities and those bypassed by the American dream. John Kennedy's election that same year, and his swearing in challenge to "ask you can do for your country" conveyed the feeling that with enough effort anything was possible in 1961 including the remaking of society (O'Neill, 1986).

The popular TV program giveaways immortalized by the "The $64,000 Question," introduced in 1955 and imitated by others including "Queen for a Day," in which contestants vied for being the neediest, ubiquitized a view of money as the preeminent social emollient; good for any ailment. Despite the game show scandals and Congressional investigations that were soon to follow, the idea of a quick infusion of capital for the deserving was ensconced in American popular culture and emulated in Saturation, a modern, FAE sponsored version of the Cinderella story for a deserving community.

The grant was to be tied to a publicity campaign that would show how adult education made a significant

difference in the life of a community, a special ingredient that, when added, could bring people and communities into a more prosperous middle class society. If successful, it would also be the silver bullet for adult education, a miracle cure for adult education's own illness of invisibility that made it a perennial underdog in American public education, especially at the state house level. Proof, or at least strong evidence, that adult education added to the material well being of constituents could (it was hoped) ratchet political support with astonishing swiftness, especially when the achievements could be replicated elsewhere in the state.

Problems with Implementation

Within several months of the grants' announcements there were 10 applications for the three year award and 30 for the one year program. McAlester, Oklahoma, the town selected for Saturation, was within a state that had been the recipient of earlier grants (since 1955) and had, for a brief period, successfully established the position of director of adult education within the State Education Department. Yet, the state had

eventually withdrawn its financial support for this position after the initial NAPSAE grants expired. For this reason Robert Luke had reservations about the selection of McAlester based upon the absence of the necessary demonstrated and sustained strong state commitment to adult education he espoused in his letter to Belcher previously cited. For Luke, selecting McAlester would have been a repudiation of NAPSAE policy and seen as a lack of faith in working through the established educational machinery of the state. (NAPSAE, State Projects Committee, November 8-9, 1961). There were qualms, too, about the remoteness of the site and how this would create logistical problems for the Washington office which was to provide consulting and liaison support although these cavils had not surfaced before when the earlier grants were made.

Nevertheless, despite Luke's objections, a visit to McAlester on August 7, 1961 by Henry Ponitz, representing the State Projects Committee, went very well and seemed to ensure its selection (Ponitz, August 6 to 9, 1961). Ponitz praised the vitality of the Oklahoma Association of Public School Adult Education (OAPSAE), the commitment of the University of Oklahoma

to adult education under Dean Thurman White (who had just secured $300,000 in Kellogg Foundation support for a major conference center- some of which they were willing to invest in the McAlester project), and the school leadership of McAlester as all contributing to the grant's anticipated success.

Moreover, McAlester with the new Eufaula dam and hydroelectric plant nearing completion and talk about Lockheed Aircraft putting down roots nearby was on the threshold of becoming a thriving community economically. Although adult education had been introduced by the school system only the year before it appeared to have gotten off to a good start with forums on economic development, a "Family Life Lecture Series," and several college level extension credit courses. Harold Hedges, the adult education director, was enthusiastic about starting an FAE "Great Decisions" program the following year thus signifying his and the school district's unequivocal support of liberal adult education, an essential sine qua non of Saturation. Thus McAlester appeared to be an ideal choice for NAPSAE's experiment.

Surprisingly, Ponitz, several weeks later, in a September 13 letter to Elmer Mueller, Chair of the State Projects Committee, acknowledged (in an apparent change of heart) the validity of Luke's points, both philosophically and geographically. (Ponitz, September 13, 1961).

As a way out of the ideological bind the association was now in- since save for the questionable state level support McAlester appeared to be an ideal choice- he suggested picking the recipient the following year from among the pool of successful one year projects; in effect, delaying the start of Saturation until a candidate meeting every single criterion would be found.

Ponitz's belief (or fear?) that even a successful Saturation program in McAlester would not provide the dynamics for getting the Oklahoma Department of Education to support adult education sealed McAlester's fate. But, for all intents and purposes Saturation may have triumphed in McAlester bringing about the desired effect. NAPSAE officials apparently placed the need for ideological consistency (and requirement of working

through state education departments in a preconceived manner) before pragmatism thereby sacrificing accomplishment for preestablished dogma.

The Association concluded that Saturation was not worth the risk of sinking such a large amount of money into one large project that might fail. It was better to spread the FAE funds over a larger number of communities for a shorter, one year period. Subsequently sixteen communities, including McAlester, were selected for one year $4000 grants (Thompson, December 4, 1961).

McAlester was reconsidered for a three year Saturation grant in 1962 and was visited by Thomas McLernon, Assistant Director of the NEA Division of Adult Education Service. In a memo to Robert Luke (September 6, 1962) he was highly critical of the leadership of the program, citing the incompetence of the adult education director, a point apparently overlooked by Ponitz who was favorably impressed by Hedges and his ties to the community. McLernon leaned more towards the involvement of staff from the University of Oklahoma, downplaying the contribution of public school people-

an ironic position for an NAE staff member.

The Saturation Project was in this way abandoned and never implemented in McAlester nor in any other community. NAPSAE settled back into the more predictable pattern of gradual incrementalism similar to how it had approached the matter of encouraging states to add positions of adult education directors.

NAPSAE Changes

NAPSAE had changed dramatically in its first decade. The membership had grown from 1500 in 1955 to approximately 3000 in 1960 (Parker, 1961, p.14); and in 1961, 5000 members were claimed (Essert, 1961, p.142). Memberships were in two categories; Associate, for teachers, and Active, for administrators.

The range of publications had expanded and included, FOCUS, an annual yearbook, Help for Teachers of the Foreign Born, Aids for Teachers of Adults, Administrators Swap Shop, Techniques for Teachers of Adults, The Pulse of Public School Adult Education, Public Relations Idea File, and a Directory of

Membership. The Public School Adult Educator, a journal, was published in 1957 but discontinued in 1960 as the organization came to favor an increased stream of newsletters accenting practical tips and advice for practitioners. It distributed more than 100,000 items in 1960 including a "Lending Library Packet Service" that contained brochures, pamphlets, course catalogs, and speeches on adult education.

By 1961 there were eighteen standing committees, a sixteen member Board of Directors, and a staff of seven. In addition to a national conference, that was held in conjunction with that of the AEA/USA, there were also five regional conferences in order to accommodate the needs of members with limited travel opportunities.

NAPSAE now stressed the professional development of its members, strengthening their skills, providing opportunities for networking and, above all, defining standards for public school adult education practice through its ambitious information dissemination effort. This became its primary mission (S.E. Hand, 1961). Viewed from this perspective, it made much more sense

for the organization to sponsor one year projects in many communities instead of a single three year Saturation grant. This was a way of allocating benefits to a larger number of constituents in addition to minimizing the risk of failure implicit in backing only one school district.

As a service organization, NAPSAE came to measure its own success by convenient indices of growth, whether in members, publications, committees, or conferences. Social change through adult education was much more elusive, and problematic, even with the inspired-but risky- concept of Saturation.

Although NAPSAE wanted to maintain close relationships with the larger field of adult education it had a "distinct responsibility ...to build strength in itself as an organization, to extend its organizational identity, and to strengthen its voice as a national professional organization" according to S.E. Hand, NAPSAE President for 1961 (S.E.Hand, 1961, p.71). The creative synergy implicit in Saturation's linkages with other community adult education providers was suppressed in favor of a more exclusive focus on the

public school's distinctive contribution to continuing education.

Conclusions and Implications

NAPSAE's greatest contribution was in calling attention to what could be accomplished in public school adult education. It did this through an imaginative and energetic agenda that included using incentives to motivate state departments of education to more fully support the educational needs of adults, creating an adult education focus for community school districts, and establishing a viable professional organization for practitioners.

It never succeeded in making the public school the fulcrum of community adult education though it did help achieve a secure place for adult education as a permanent part of the school program. And even as more states established positions of directors of adult education within state departments of education, the field of adult education swelled beyond their reach into a much broader array of institutions and organizations including colleges and universities,

community colleges, libraries and other community organizations, foundations, industries, and governments- local, state, and federal. Public schools came to occupy a smaller part of this expanding adult education universe, especially in the liberal arts, and could never realistically hope to dominate it, even through successful Saturation or other derivative projects.

Having the FAE grant money allowed NAPSAE to raise its sights and to experiment with other strategies for promoting a broader acceptance of adult education. The demise of the FAE in 1961 closed this window of opportunity and NAPSAE had to subsequently rely to a much larger extent on membership dues, fees, and publication subscriptions to underwrite its activities. This service orientation to its membership increasingly dominated the NAPSAE agenda.

The decision to almost award Saturation to the school district of McAlester Oklahoma precipitated a reluctance to examine core issue fundamental to NAPSAE's identity- namely how best to advance the cause of public school adult education. Ultimately the

potential of grass roots politics was rejected in favor of a more traditional approach that paid obeisance to the hierarchical organization of public school management. NAPSAE would work within the system without using the potential wild card of Saturation even though there was a strong possibility that this novel approach to demonstrating the value of adult education might actually succeed.

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